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ABSTRACT

The Hawke Labor government in Australia, elected in 1983, conforms to a well-defined international trend away from stong public support for education and welfare spending. This paper focuses on the education policies of the Hawke government and compares them with those of the previous Fraser government and with those of the Reagan administration in the United States. Two charts detail philosophical and financial differences and similarities among the three governments. The Hawke socialist government's similarities to conservative administrations are partly attributable to common constraints imposed by large federal deficits and the decade's conservative social climate. The Hawke government has pursued consensual and pragmatic strategies and has ignored party policy. Hawke has failed to halt the downward spiral in budget education allocation so that the position of public schools has deteriorated. Program initiatives have promoted educational access for some disadvantaged groups such as Aborigines. The government's legacy may be educational policies destined to increase inequalities in Australian society. The Hawke and Reagan governments contrast ideologically concerning the federal role. The Reagan administration's conservative philosophy emphasizes excellence and choice, whereas the Hawke socialist perspective focuses on equity issues. (CJH)

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REAGAN CONSERVATISM AND HAWKE SOCIALISM: WHITHER THE DIFFERENCES IN THE EDUCATION POLICIES OF THE US AND AUSTRALIAN FEDERAL GOVERNMENTS?

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ABSTRACT

Under the radical reformist Whitlam Australian Labor Party Government (1972-1975), education was viewed as a central instrument for making society more equal and for promoting social reform. To a lesser extent this was also true of the Carter Administration. However, between the mid 1970s and early 1980s the western world underwent a severe economic recession and an accompanying pendulum swing from fairly liberal to much more conservative social, political and economic values and attitudes. The education policies of Reagan, Thatcher and Fraser reflected that pendulum swing and have been captured by the phrase the 'New Right Agenda'. When the Hawke Labor Government came to power in 1983, whilst much of the educational rhetoric of the Whitlam era remained in Labor's platform, the reformist zeal and the determination to use education as an engine of social reform had largely evaporated. Under Hawke, Labor has moved right becoming a much more cautious party of the middle ground - the politics of electoral pragmatism and consensus have replaced the Whitlam politics of idealism and reform.

With Hawke, as with Reagan, anxiety about the budget deficit has dictated that 'sound economic management' over-rides all other priorities. In both cases social and educational redistributionist policies have largely been crowded out - though in the case of Reagan, ideology provides an additional incentive for keeping such policies off the agenda.

The end result, in both the US and Australia is that the key determinant of Federal policy on education is economic not ideological - hence the greater degree of commonality in education policies than if ideology was allowed free rein.

INTRODUCTION

This time last year at AERA I presented a paper on 'Fraser and Reagan "New Federalism": Politics of Education in Times of Economic Recession'. In that paper I noted some remarkable similarities in the broad general political philosophy and specific education policies of the conservative leaders (Fraser was Prime Minister of Australia 1976-1983) of our two countires. In trying to set these two men and their 'New Federalism' policies in context I observed:

> In many respects, former Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser and President Ronald Reagan can be seen to be almost clone-like leadership products of the wave of conservative political and social forces which swept both countries (and much of the western world) from the mid-1970s - perhaps in large measure as a reaction to the more liberal and interventionist policies of their predecessors and to the

accompanying severe economic recession which they both claimed to have inherited as a direct result. Whatever the merits of Fraser and Reagan's claims that their economic predicament was inherited from the policies of their liberal predecessors, there can be little argument that both men found a great deal of common ground in their diagnoses of the ailments besetting their respective economies and federal systems of government and in their prescription of policies to remedy those ills.

Thus, Fraser in 1975 and Reagan in 1980, were swept into power arguing that their "left-leaning" predecessors had let inflation get out of control, and the national deficit grow too large through their policies of "welfare-statist" expenditure on public sector programs, especially in health, education, and social welfare. Further, they argued that their predecessors had, in general, encouraged the growth of centralized power in Washington and Canberra at the expense of the states and that public sector growth had been excessive and been fostered at the expense of the size and vitality of the private sector.

Both men were elected to office on the promise of implementing solutions to these problems which included such common elements as: the need to reverse the centripetal forces in our respective federal systems by handing back more responsibilities (and the capacity to fund them) to the states; the need to reduce the federal government's deficit by substantially cutting back on its expenditure, primarily in social welfare and related areas; the need to simultaneously deregulate unnecessary federal restrictions on industry and the states, and to stimulate private sector investment and growth by "supply-side" strategies such as major tax cuts and business incentives.

Amongst the common elements which I identified in Fraser and Reagan education policy were the following:

1. **Disestablishment and De-emphasis**

   Efforts to eliminate or reduce the role of the federal government in education by:

   (i) closing the Department of Education and/or related federal education agencies (eg DE and NIE in US and CDC and ERDC in Australia);

   (ii) substantially reducing federal funding for education (eg ECIA in US and the Lynch 'Razor Gang' in Australia);

   (iii) weakening the credibility and influence of the federal education agencies by altering their agendas through the use of the political appointment process and/or by ignoring or neutralising their decisional output.

2. **The 'New Right' Educational Agenda**

This agenda contained such elements as:

(i) promoting policies supporting educational excellence whilst simultaneously squeezing equity issues into the background;

(ii) continually denigrating the public schools whilst emphasising the right to parental choice in education and promoting the interests of private schools (through advocacy of tuition tax credits and vouchers in US and increasing aid to private schools in Australia);

(iii) demanding a return to 'the basics' and 'discipline' in our schools;

(iv) emphasising the narrow competitive and vocational roles of schools and their links with the economy to the detriment of their broader social and integrative roles in society.

The accuracy of my observations so far as Reagan education policy is concerned, is largely borne out by the detailed research of scholars such as Clark and Amiot (1981), Schuster (1982), and Clark and Astuto (1984; 1985; 1986). Given that Clark and Astuto's paper will precede my own in this symposium, there is no need for me to elaborate Reagan policies in education. I will focus instead on Hawke's policies and attempt to explain the similarities and divergences with Fraser and Reagan.

PREDICTING HAWKE SOCIALIST EDUCATION POLICY

In a nutshell, my argument last year was that in both countries the spectre of huge Federal deficits and increased central power in conjunction with the conservative ideologies of Fraser and Reagan contributed to striking policy reversals designed to reduce the Federal role in education and to implement a 'New Right' educational agenda.

Given that Fraser's conservative Liberal Government was replaced by the Hawke socialist Australian Labor Party (ALP) Government in March 1983, it might be argued that in Australia, all of the above constraints to a revival of the long-term post-war trend of Federal expansion in

education - with the vital exception of the continuing large (Aust $6b) Federal deficit - had been removed. Consequently, on the basis of Hawke's party's pre-election promises and the previous Whitlam ALP Government's (1972-1975) education policies, we might reasonably have predicted a significant shift and altered emphasis in Australia's Federal education policy away from the Fraser and Reagan model.

It is important to note that the ALP has a long democratic socialist tradition of social reform and redistributionist policies - deriving as its name suggests, from its origins as the party representing the workers as distinct from capitalists and employers. Despite its strong affiliations with the Trade Union movement (over 60 percent of the Australian workforce is unionised) it has never been a doctrinaire party.

The Party has an extremely democratic policy-making framework enabling policy proposals to filter up from local and State branches to the supreme policy-making body - the ALP Biennial Federal Conference. This broadly representative body which also contains strong representation from Federal politicians including the leader (Hawke) debates and establishes official ALP policy - the so-called 'Platform'. The policies enshrined in that platform are technically binding on ALP politicians - that is, in office, ALP leaders (unlike their conservative counterparts) are obliged to implement the policies. Any leader who implements policies contrary to or in conflict with the Platform does do at his peril and may face the ultimate sanction of expulsion from the Party.

Under the radical reformist (though still very moderate by international socialist standards) Whitlam ALP Government from 1972-1975 - the first Labor Government for a period of 23 years - education was viewed as a central instrument for making society more equal and for promoting social change and reform. Thus some of Whitlam's early measures included: the creation of a Federal Schools Commission with a vast budget to be allocated to all schools on a basis of 'need' (positive discrimination); the abolition of tertiary tuition fees so as to remove economic barriers to access to higher education; the assumption of total Federal responsibility (previously shared by State and Federal governments) for funding all universities and colleges of advanced education, thus ensuring a nationally coordinated and equitably financed tertiary education system across the country; and the introduction of a means-tested non-repayable living allowance scheme (Tertiary Education Assistance Scheme) open to all students. All these policies were part of the ALP Platform on which Whitlam was elected to office.

Given the Whitlam Government's record of educational reform and the ALP's education platform and election promises at the time of the Hawke Government's assumption of office in 1983, we might have reasonably predicted a significant shift away from the Reagan-Fraser education policy along the following lines:

1. **Overall Federal Role in Education Policy and Funding**

   (a) A renewed commitment to a strong Federal presence at all levels of education, symbolised by substantial increases in Federal expenditure - reversing the cut-backs of the Fraser years.

   (b) A return to a major Federal role in curriculum innovation and diffusion and to educational research through reinstatement of the Federal Curriculum Development Centre and Education Research and Development Committee - both of which had been axed under Fraser.

2. **Equity and Excellence Issues**

   (a) Less emphasis on issues of educational excellence and a greater emphasis on equity issues such as improved participation rates in upper secondary schools in post-compulsory education.

   (b) A greater emphasis on improved access for the disadvantaged (girls/women, migrants, aboriginals, the handicapped/disabled) at all levels of education.

   (c) A greater emphasis on Affirmative Action and Equal Opportunity in educational institutions.

   (d) Improved foreign aid in the form of expanding government funded educational provision in Australia for overseas students from neighbouring lesser developed countries.

3. **School Funding and Policy**

(a) A reassertion in policy and practice of the Federal Government's 'primary obligation' to public schools before private schools.

(b) A renewed emphasis on funding equity reflected in reinstatement of substantial needs-based (positive discrimination) differentials in funding within the private school sector - thus reversing the sharp drift back towards equal per capita funding under Fraser.

(c) A de-emphasis of Fraser's focus on excellence and freedom of choice and a strong defence of the quality and standards in the public school system - including resistance to demands for national testing and monitoring of standards in numeracy and literacy.

(d) In line with the above, implementation of policies to strengthen the Federal Schools Commission which had been seriously weakened under Fraser - including efforts to restore the power and influence of the State offices of the Schools Commission as bodies guaranteeing compliance with Federal Policy.

4. **Higher Education Policy**

(a) A reversal of the harsh Fraser cut-backs in Federal funds (the source of 95 percent of all University and College funds) for higher education institutions. Increased funds to meet deteriorating provision of: buildings, maintenance, research equipment and personnel, libraries, academic staff and student places.

(b) Defiance of strong conservative party demands for the reintroduction of tertiary tuition fees (Australia has had a policy of free tertiary tuition since Whitlam Government legislation in 1974).

(c) A reversal of some of the more Draconian Fraser higher education accountability/ economy measures such as: attacks on academic conditions of service (eg tenure and sabbatical leave); 'rationalization' and forced amalgamations of tertiary institutions.

5. **'Economistic' Approaches to Education**

(a) A rejection of the strong Fraser focus on the economic and vocational functions of schooling at the expense of a more balanced view which acknowledged the importance of broad-based general education for all students as the basis for future flexibility and adaptability.

(b) Resistance to the growing pressures from Fraser's Liberal Party and from some influential 'free market' economic advisors urging the Federal Government to 'privatise' - to treat public education as any other marketable commodity by such measures as the introduction of vouchers and fees and to explore the scope for generating export income from marketing higher education to foreign students from neighbouring Pacific rim countries.

HAWKE POLICIES IN PRACTICE: HOW DIFFERENT?

How different, then, have the socialist Hawke Government's education policies been in practice, from the Fraser-Reagan prototype during its period of office 1983-1986? In general, prediction has proved remarkably hazardous. Whilst some of the predicted policy reversals have occurred, in most of these cases the degree of change has been generally quite modest and in many policy areas little or no change from the Fraser policy has emerged in practice. Such has been the disgust of the Australian Teachers Federation with the ALP's education policies that it produced a paper in 1984 entitled 'Hawke in Fraser's Clothing' (Marginson: 1984).

I will seek to explain the reasons for change or lack of change as I analyse particular Hawke education policies. However, there are a number of general factors operating which help to explain the relatively modest degree of change achieved by the Hawke Government during its first three years in office. These factors and the unfolding of education policy are elaborated in greater detail in Smart et al, 'The Hawke Government and Education 1983-1985' (1986).

General Contextual Factors Contributing to the Hawke Government's Cautious and Incremental Approach to Change.

1. Preoccupation with the Deficit and Need to Demonstrate 'Sound Economic Management'

From its earliest days, the Hawke Government was preoccupied with the size of the deficit. From well before it achieved power, too, the ALP was extremely conscious of its need to establish its credentials in Government as a 'sound and responsible economic manager'. It had the notorious legacy of the Whitlam years (1972-1975) to live down, during which time that socialist Government had acquired a partly deserved reputation for poor economic management and profligate expenditure.

2. The Hawke Style: 'Government by Consensus'

In contrast to the 'crash through or crash' confrontationist style of leadership displayed by both his predecessors (Whitlam and Fraser), Hawke has carefully cultivated a consensual approach to Government perhaps best characterised by one of his Party's election slogans 'Bringing Australia Together'. Hawke has built up elaborate mechanisms for ensuring broad consultation between Unions, Business and Government on all major facets of economic policy. His so-called Economic and Tax Summits received widespread national and international attention as examples of government by consensus.

3. Hawke Pragmatism

No doubt reflecting on the remarkable brevity of the spectacular radical-reformist Whitlam Government, Hawke and his colleagues seem intent on retaining office in the long term. Eschewing much of the traditional left-wing rhetoric and ideology of Labor, Hawke and his Cabinet have adopted an extremely pragmatic approach to Government. This approach is consistent with Hawke's background. His lengthy formative training years - he only entered Federal politics in 1980 - were spent in the trade union movement, where for years, as President of the Australian Council of Trade Unions, he honed his skills as a negotiator of compromises, a resolver of conflict. These experiences have left him distrustful and cynical of ideology. Many cynics in the left wing of the ALP see his approach as 'pure pragmatism' and doubt that he has any real commitment to the ALP's central principle of equality.

His fairly conservative Cabinet - perhaps significantly more right wing than the Federal Parliamentary Labor Party Caucus with which it not infrequently clashes - has read well the more conservative mood of the great mass of the Australian electorate, and has pragmatically tailored its policies accordingly. Thus the ALP Government has, by and large, studiously avoided implementing policies which might 'rock the boat'. Such an approach has led some ALP influentials to warn that long-held ALP socialist principles are in danger of being 'sold out' to Hawke-style policy pragmatism.

HAWKE EDUCATION POLICIES 1983-1985

I will now briefly examine the Hawke Government's actual education policies and achievements under the five headings and in relation to the predictions about change which I inferred earlier.

1. OVERALL FEDERAL ROLE IN EDUCATION FUNDING AND POLICY

The Hawke Government has signalled its clear intention that the Federal Government will remain a strong partner with the states in formulating broad national policy and maintaining its financial commitment at about existing levels. This does not, of course, mean that the proportion of total Federal outlays devoted to education will not continue to drift downwards (from their high of 9 percent in 1976-77 they are currently around 7.1 percent. See Appendix, Fig 3.). In fact, economists have been arguing that based on realistic figures of enrolment growth and growth in GDP, education could in the 1990s fare quite favourably even if the proportion of total Federal outlays on education drifted a little below existing levels (Burke, November 1985:21). In each of its three budgets to date, the Hawke Government has provided for real increases in Federal expenditure on education of the order of 5 percent. Thus the Fraser cuts in Federal education expenditure in real terms have been reversed. However, given the austerity of the Fraser years, the Hawke increases for education, although an improvement, have not been sufficient to prevent deterioration in provision, particularly in higher education. I will return to this later.

Curriculum and Research Role

So far as a reinstatement of the Federal role in curriculum development and educational research is concerned, achievement has been 'mixed'. The Hawke Government has honoured its promise to re-establish the Curriculum Development Centre (CDC). However, to date, despite repeated assurances of interest by the Federal Minister for Education, Senator

Susan Ryan, the Federal Government has not re-established the Education Research and Development Committee which until 1981 allocated $2.5m annually in education research funds based on open refereed competition. Thus, a Federal Government which currently spends over $4b annually on education is still in the anomalous position where it does not currently foster a significant education research effort - apart from the narrow short-term policy-oriented research commissioned through its in-house education agency budgets.

2. EQUITY AND EXCELLENCE ISSUES

Participation, Access and Equity in Education

The Hawke Government has given high priority to equity concerns and especially to those of promoting increased participation and enhanced access at all levels of education. Indeed, its very success in increasing secondary retention rates to year 12 and encouraging more Australians to seek entry to post-secondary education has produced a serious shortage of places in tertiary institutions (Smart et al, 1986).

One of the reasons for the Hawke Government's focus on educational access and participation was the disturbingly high level of youth unemployment with which it was confronted on taking office - March 1983 being almost the nadir of Australia's economic recession. Partly as a response to this problem, and partly stemming from its long-standing ALP principles of equity and access, the Hawke Government in 1983 launched its Participation and Equity Programme (PEP). PEP was to be the ambitious '...centrepiece of the overall framework of youth policies ... (with) the twin objectives of increasing participation in education and introducing greater equity in the Government's overall provision for young people' (Ryan, Senate, 25.August 1983: 240-41). A central goal was to achieve, by 1990, a situation where the majority of young people were completing the equivalent of a full secondary education either in school or in TAFE, or in some combination of work and education.

This has proven a remarkably successful strategy already. Between 1981 and 1984 national year 12 retention rates have from 35 percent to 45 percent (Quality and Equality, 1985: 199). In the first two years of the Hawke Government, unemployment in the 15-24 year age group fell by 76,000 whilst the number in the same age group participating in full-time post-secondary education rose by 56,000. In the words of the Chairman of the Commonwealth Tertiary Education Commission (CTEC), Hugh Hudson (1985:49) '... it is

clear that the expansion in education has been a more important factor in reducing unemployment of young people than has improvement in economic activity'. A recent Federal Government Committee - The Quality of Education Review Report - optimistically predicted that the bulk of youth unemployment might be eliminated by 1992 through the introduction of a new federal youth traineeship programme combined with continued expansion of full-time education opportunities at the same level as the past two years (1985). Perhaps the biggest problem with this scenario is that the 1983-85 post-secondary expansion occurred with very limited increases in funding so that tertiary institutions are now jammed tight with students and facing deteriorating academic and instructional conditions. Further expansion cannot occur without a much more generous infusion of Federal funds.

Enhanced Educational Access for the Disadvantaged

In the area of enhanced access for the disadvantaged, the Hawke Government has also achieved considerable success. The retention rates of girls in year 12 (48%) continue to surpass those for boys (42%) and total female enrolments in colleges of advanced education now exceed those of males whilst they are also fast approaching parity in universities. Through the Federal Government's Tertiary PEP Scheme money has been provided to tertiary institutions for such worthwhile purposes as: examining mathematics and sciences in primary teacher education courses; reviewing the provision of enclave programmes for Aboriginal people; evaluating teaching materials for 'marginal' students with inadequate language and numeracy skills; ... and developing programmes to increase the participation of women in science, technology and management-based courses (CTEC Report for 1985-87, Vol 2).

A variety of initiatives in Aboriginal education have been set in train but progress has been partly blunted by the complex division of responsibility for Aboriginals between State and Federal Governments and even within the Federal bureaucracy, between the Departments of Aboriginal Affairs, Education and Employment and Industrial Relations. Following the report of a major parliamentary committee on Aboriginal Education (1985), the Minister for Education, Senator Ryan, announced in March 1986 the transfer of all Aboriginal education programmes from the Department of Aboriginal Affairs to the Department of Education. She also announced that the National Aboriginal Education Committee would become the Government's principal advisor. She expected these two moves to enable her to '... consolidate all the work done in Aboriginal education to streamline our administration and to build on the very solid gains ... already made' (Ryan, Press Release, 5 March 1986).

Affirmative Action and Equal Employment Opportunity Programs

Despite substantial initial resistance from the Australian Vice Chancellors Committee and other quarters, Senator Ryan has been largely personally responsible for ensuring the adoption of Affirmative Action and Equal Employment Opportunities programs in most tertiary institutions since 1983.

Foreign Student Assistance

Undoubtedly in this area the ALP has surprised many of its supporters. During 1984, the Government received the reports of the Jackson Committee on Australia's Overseas Aid Programme and the Goldring Committee on Private Overseas Student Policy (Smart, et al, 1986). Taking the very much in vogue 'privatisation' line, the Jackson Committee viewed education as an export commodity. Emphasising the 'user-pays' principle, it opted for full cost recovery through fees, together with a three-tiered scholarship system involving government to government scholarships, scholarships on merit and special scholarships. In contrast, the Goldring Committee recommended a continuation of the Overseas Student Charge - a contribution to total costs - at a uniform rate for all undergraduates. In March 1985, the Government announced its policy, essentially opting for the Goldring model with the overseas student charge to be increased to 35 percent and then 45 percent of the full cost of a place in 1986 and 1987 respectively. Overseas students unable to be accommodated within this Government subsidised aid programme would be able to seek entry to courses at full cost. This is currently a very fluid policy area with tertiary institutions largely inexperienced in marketing education, jostling each other and competing for a share of the allegedly lucrative overseas student market. There are many within the ALP who are extremely uneasy about this tertiary education experiment with the 'free-market' and its potential for inequity, exploitation and damage to the traditional overseas student aid programme. Already there has been strong protest from subsidised overseas students who are nearing completion of their studies in Australia and who have suddenly been confronted with unpredicted fee hikes. Belatedly the Hawke Government has agreed to 'hold the line' on fees for existing overseas students - but this only adds to the impression of ill-planned policy-making on the run.

3. SCHOOL FUNDING AND POLICY

This is a classic example of a policy area in which Hawke's pursuit of community consensus - together with the considerable lobbying clout of the Catholic hierarchy and the wealthy private school establishment - forced him to reject the ALP's official policy (Smart et al, 1986; Smart, 1986). That is to say, despite strong formal ALP policy platform commitments and election promises to phase out Federal aid for wealthy private schools, the Hawke Government like the Whitlam Government before it, ultimately found it expedient to back away from this policy. Instead, Hawke chose the more expensive consensus option of maintaining aid for wealthy schools at existing levels whilst substantially increasing aid for the poorer Catholic private schools and for government schools (Smart et al, 1986; Smart, 1986).

Naturally this consensus solution was seen as the betrayal of long-term ALP principles for short-term electoral pragmatism by many ALP members and public school supporters. Thus an Australian Teachers Federation Research Paper described it in the following terms:

> It is hard to capture in words the sense of outrage and betrayal amongst government school teachers and parents following the release of the Federal Government's Guidelines for Schools Funding on 14 August this year.
>
> In one stroke the Hawke Government silenced the militant minority opposition of the private school supporters by giving them everything they wanted, stroked the captains of industry with a promise that education would be brought into line with their needs, guaranteed the fiscal 'rationalists' that there would be no Whitlamite expansion of education funding (except to private schools), soothed the 'back to basics' lobby by adopting their rhetoric and reassured all those who fear the teacher unions with a very public declaration of the Government's intention to shut the unions out of any influence over education policy.
>
> It was a spectacular conservative coup. Hawke had become Fraser, only this time there was no alternative waiting in the wings.
>
> Given the finely-tuned electoral pragmatism and neo-conservative economics of the Hawke Government, these outcomes in retrospect look less surprising. (ATF, September 1984.)

Whilst the Hawke Government was unable to 'deliver' on the issue of phasing out aid to wealthy private schools and whilst this offended many Left-wing members of the ALP, it is fair to say that in most other respects the Hawke Government has implemented the spirit of

its education policy. For example, it has reaffirmed its 'primary obligation' to the public rather than the private school system and backed up that reaffirmation with guarantees of a redressing of the imbalance of Federal funding (over 50 percent of the $2b Federal aid bill goes to the 25 percent of students in private schools) away from the private and towards the public education sector (Ryan, August 1984). Simultaneously, it confirmed its commitment to a more strongly needs-based approach to funding private schools through the extension of Fraser's relatively undifferentiated 3-category system of 'need' into a much refined 12-category system with differential funding for schools in each category. Thus the wealthiest category of private schools will have its Federal assistance more or less permanently pegged at the existing level of $277 (elementary) and $440 (secondary) per capita, whilst by contrast, the poorest non-government schools will be receiving $1,034 (elementary) and $1,526 (secondary) per capita by 1992. Perhaps the ALP is simply adopting a longer-term time frame for the ultimate phase out of aid to the wealthiest schools.

De-emphasis of Excellence and Freedom of Choice and Strong Defence of Quality and Standards in Public Education?

As predicted, there has been some down-playing of issues of excellence and freedom of choice - though the decision not to phase out Federal aid to the wealthiest private schools was viewed by many as a victory for freedom of choice and an acknowledgement by the government of the right of all taxpayers to some assistance from the Federal education budget.

Nevertheless, the public and symbolic affirmations of confidence in the quality and contribution of the public education system that many educators had expected from the Hawke Government have been largely absent. Indeed, in the view of many educators the attitudes and approach of the Hawke Government has been uncharacteristically unhelpful and unsupportive. Both Prime Minister Hawke and Education Minister Ryan have on several occasions seriously questioned the quality and direction of the education system as a whole and put on notice the Federal Government's intention to rigorously examine whether it gets value for money from its substantial financial outlays (Marginson, 1984).

THE QERC REPORT

No doubt the widespread community concern with standards and the quality of education - together with the enormity of the Federal deficit - have been mutually reinforcing pressures which have obliged the politicians to look closely at issues of educational accountability and outcomes. The result has been several major inquiries - the Quality of Education Review Committee (QERC) for the schools sector and the Efficiency and Effectiveness Review in the post-secondary sector. The QERC report appears to have been 'forced' on the Minister for Education as a result of intervention by senior bureaucrats in the Departments of Finance and Prime Minister and Cabinet. In their review of the Education Department's 1984 pre-Budget submission, these bureaucrats asked what evidence there was to show that the massive increase in Federal per pupil expenditure (of some 50 percent between 1973 and 1983) had improved the quality of education (Smart et al, 1986).

Two over-riding concerns dominated the terms of reference of QERC - establishing 'value for money' and gearing the education system more closely to labour market needs. Unlike the Karmel Report of 1973 which was largely concerned with education inputs, QERC was required to establish that there were identifiable educational outcomes from Federal aid.

However, measurement of outcomes in education is a highly complex and difficult task which requires agreement on goals and often involves assumptions by clients that all outcomes are conveniently measurable. QERC's quest for output indicators such as achievement score progress from existing State Department and private school records proved largely unsuccessful. Faced with conflicting evidence from measurement and anecdotal sources about whether there had been gains or losses in cognitive achievement over the decade, QERC was ultimately forced to offer its own impressionistic conclusion. It concluded that schools had by and large used the increase in Federal aid to respond effectively to new challenges and demands and 'produced results superior to those which would otherwise have been the case'. On the basis of these QERC 'impressions', the Hawke Government essentially re-committed itself to existing levels of Federal aid for schools. However, undoubtedly the most important result of QERC has been its recommendations for the future which Hawke has endorsed. These recommendations largely focus on the need to develop and monitor measures of outcomes and to establish a firm commitment from recipients to progress in certain priority areas. Some of the key recommendations were:

* Recurrent grants should in future be premised on negotiated agreements between the Commonwealth and government and non-government school authorities with declared priority areas which should include: basic skills in primary; enhancing the competencies of disadvantaged students which would improve their likelihood of completing secondary schooling; more equal representation of girls in all major subject areas; and teacher development programmes appropriate to these priorities.

* Greater accountability by recipients of Commonwealth funds in the form of three-yearly accountability statements describing changes in: levels of attainment in general skills; post-compulsory participation rates by socio-economic class, by gender and by rural-urban location; statistics on post-compulsory subject choice of girls and the proportions sitting major exams in each major subject.

* Reviews of most of the extant Schools Commission specific purpose programmes within the next few years.

* The telescoping of the separate funds for many existing specific purpose programmes into the general recurrent funding vote and the key objective of these former programmes to become part of the formal negotiated agreements.

* For all remaining specific purpose programmes there was to be an effort to simplify the number of objectives and evaluation indicators and a requirement to regularly report progress towards the achievement of these objectives. (Smart et al, 1986).

Neither the State Education Departments, the private schools nor the Commonwealth's own Schools Commission have been very enthusiastic about these proposed 'negotiated agreements' and 'accountability statements' with their strong emphasis on evaluation of 'progress indicators'. It remains to be seen how much of QERC will ultimately be implemented. Nevertheless it is a clear demonstration of Federal concern about standards and economy and in general, represents a body-blow to the Schools Commission (see the SC publications 'Discussion of Some Issues Raised in Quality of Education in Australia' (1985) and 'Quality and Equality' (1985)).

Efficiency and Effectiveness Review of Tertiary Education

The creation of this review is yet another policy decision which many educators would have considered more in keeping with the Draconian Fraser era of accountability, amalgamations and rationalization. The review which is due for release in April 1986 was commissioned by Senator Ryan in mid 1985 and is chaired by the head of CTEC, Mr Hugh Hudson. It was initiated at a time when several Federal politicians were calling for the creation of State

'Razor Gangs' to carve $200m of 'fat' from the budgets of tertiary institutions - all of which are totally funded by the Federal Government. For this reason it is unclear whether it is a friendly 'smokescreen' accountability device to protect higher education from the politicians, or whether the Federal Minister and her Cabinet colleagues are looking for more 'sacrifices' from the universities and colleges in order to reduce the deficit. Certainly, the rumours emanating from Canberra suggest that it will have some unwelcome news for many academics so far as research and postgraduate funding are concerned.

It is fair to say then, that the pressures for accountability and centralized coordination which ironically were honed into an 'art-form' under Fraser 'Federalism' have been kept alive and well under Hawke. The Reagan approach, by contrast, seems to have been to cut the budget at the centre but then deregulate and decentralise its expenditure by state and local authorities, giving them maximum freedom to determine their priorities. Interestingly, both Hawke and Reagan appear to be agreed on the value of national monitoring of achievement indicators.

4. HIGHER EDUCATION POLICY

Funding

Between the mid 1960s and mid 1970s, higher education in Australia went through a halcyon period of unprecedented expansion and well-being. In 1974, just as the Australian economy began to deteriorate, the Whitlam Government assumed total financial responsibility for universities and colleges. By 1975 it was clear that the Federal budget generally, including education, would have to be 'reined in'. From 1975 to 1983 under Fraser, the Federal Education budget remained virtually static in real terms and the higher education budget suffered real cuts. Many colleges of advanced education were forced to amalgamate. University and college building programs virtually ground to a halt, and libraries and research equipment and facilities were further 'run-down'. Unfortunately this deteriorating situation was 'masked' to some extent under Fraser by a downturn in student enrolments in the late 1970s. However, this situation was initially exacerbated under Hawke because of a lack of understanding of the seriousness of the problems and because the very high youth unemployment problem led to top priority being given to secondary school and TAFE PEP programs. These very programs have now further exacerbated the problem by increasing the demand for tertiary education well above the supply of available tertiary places.

In addition, the unnecessary political furore which developed between mid-1983 and mid-1984 over the possible cessation of Federal aid to private schools forced the Hawke Government to come up with an unnecessarily expensive funding package for the public and private schools sector which had already done extremely well compared to tertiary institutions. For example, in its March 1985 Report, the Commonwealth Tertiary Education Commission ruefully pointed out that whilst in the preceding decade per student expenditure in schools had increased by 50 percent, per student expenditure in universities and colleges had decreased by 8 percent.

Another serious barrier to the solving of this financial problem was (and perhaps still is) the widespread lack of sympathy and support for higher education amongst Federal politicians. Up until very recently there has been a strong tendency for ALP Government leaders to follow the Fraser economistic managerial line - viewing the tertiary institutions as organisations ripe for efficiency auditing and rationalisation, of seeing them in narrow vocational terms and of blaming the high levels of unemployment on the quality and 'unsuitability' of their courses. In a very real sense, higher education has been a 'whipping boy' for a wide cross-section of those in the ALP Government. Few politicians have had a sympathetic word for the institutions: from the Prime Minister (who personally sabotaged a duly-determined academic salary hike), to the Minister for Education (who attacked the universities as 'bastions of privilege'), to the Minister for Finance (pushing the reintroduction of tertiary tuition fees), to lowly backbenchers, who sought to establish state 'razor gangs' to trim $200m of 'fat' off the tertiary budget and carve up the tenure and salaries of senior academics. Such attitudes were, in part, attributable to a Government which had been heavily influenced, if not totally coopted, by the heavy onslaught of neo-conservatism and free-market ideas circulating in Australia - a theme to which I will return shortly.

In a nutshell, whilst the Hawke Government now seems more conscious of the serious financial plight of tertiary education, its response to date has been too little and too late. Institutions with any spare capacity have been encouraged to take additional students but have been funded by the Federal Government at well below marginal cost. The result has been deteriorating educational services and provision. Through such cheap money policies, between 1983 and 1987 the Hawke Government will have 'packed' an additional 28,000 students into Australian higher education. The real problem is that such a cheap policy is a once-off opportunity and that further tertiary expansion - and the ALP's PEP policy in the

schools will ensure continuing expansion of demand for tertiary places - will only be possible at considerably greater expense. There are presently increasing signs that State Governments are feeling the grass-roots pressure for more tertiary places and may be gradually re-emerging as a new source of tertiary funds. In the past 12 months, the Northern Territory has created and will fund its own university, the Victorian Government has funded an additional 1500 tertiary places, and the Western Australian Government has spent $7m on a new tertiary campus at Bunbury. Such developments were unthinkable two years ago.

Tertiary Tuition Fees

It is undoubtedly something of a surprise that several senior Hawke Government Cabinet Ministers would seek to overturn existing ALP platform policy to reintroduce tertiary fees which had been abolished by the Whitlam Government in the interests of equity only a decade earlier. Senator Peter Walsh, the Finance Minister, anxious to reduce the deficit has argued for the past 18 months that free tertiary tuition is a 'rip-off' for the rich and that fees should be reintroduced. Walsh and others, including the Prime Minister, appear to have been influenced by the strong flowering of 'free-market' economic advice circulating in Canberra during 1984-1985. The concept of tertiary education purely as a financial investment in an individual's economic future appealed to the prevailing mood of 'privatisation' and 'user pays' amongst some of the increasingly conservative financial managers in the Hawke Cabinet. This concept has acquired increased attractiveness as the enormity of the cost of fixing the backlog of neglected problems in tertiary education has dawned on the politicians.

Ultimately, in March 1985, following an overwhelming vote of opposition to fees in the Education Committee of Caucus, Walsh and Hawke withdrew their fees proposal from Cabinet. Despite several subsequent attempts by Walsh to revive the issue, the results of an ANOP Opinion Poll in April 1985 (showing that 74 percent of Australians opposed fees) will probably ensure that the issue does not come up for reconsideration at the ALP Biennial Conference in July 1986. In fact, in March 1986, Senator Susan Ryan publicly announced to a conference of students that the fees issue was officially dead and would not be raised again by the Hawke Government. Given the serious budgetary problems of the Hawke Government and its pragmatic approach, I doubt that fees can be written out of the short-term agenda.

Reversal of Fraser-type Draconian Measures in Higher Education

Many educators, perhaps naively, believed that the Hawke Government would end the period of harsh and seemingly malicious attacks on higher education which were widespread under Fraser. However, as I have already indicated, not a great deal has changed. Many ALP politicians and Ministers have been unsympathetic to higher education and have advocated severe economy measures and greater accountability. Attempts to reintroduce tertiary fees, deny salary increases, undermine academic conditions and the initiation of the CTEC Efficiency and Effectiveness Review are seen by many academics as symbolic of the Hawke Government's betrayal of higher education.

5. ECONOMISTIC APPROACHES TO EDUCATION

Over-emphasis on the Economic and Vocational Goals of Education

Many educators have been disappointed at the lack of apparent difference between the stance of the Hawke and Fraser Governments on this issue. The Government has placed great weight on increasing the numbers of science, technology, business and computer students at the expense of the humanities and social sciencies. Hawke also raised some educational eyebrows in September 1984 when he inferred that the schools were contributing to the problem of youth unemployment: 'We must face up completely honestly to questions whether the present-day education system is adequate to the task; to whether it is of such quality that we can be confident of our children's future? Frankly, I have my doubts.' (Marginson, 1984).

Privatisation of Higher Education

It has also come as a surprise to many ALP supporters to find that the Hawke Government has been so willing to 'take on board' the 'commodity' view of education and so accept many of the 'free-market' and 'privatisation' proposals in circulation. Tertiary fees is one example. Another was the outrageous Fane Report (1984) commissioned by the Prime Minister's Economic Planning and Advisory Council. Amongst its recommendations was a proposal that all tertiary institutions be put on the market and sold off to the highest bidder regardless of whether the bidder intended to use them for educational purposes.. Naturally the report was laughed out of court. Perhaps more important though, is the Hawke Government's decision to encourage institutions to earn export income through the marketing of higher education to the neighbouring South-East Asian region. Following a joint Department of Education and Trade 'Mission' to the region in September 1985, the

Government announced guidelines to institutions for the admission of full-fee paying overseas students. A range of other options is also being encouraged, including off-shore delivery of courses via Distance Education or actual on-the-ground delivery via the establishment of branch campusesin South -East Asia. This is an extremely fluid area at the moment, with the Government seemingly making policy on-the-run. It remains to be seen how it will affect tertiary institutions in the long-run, particularly if private or semi-private separate campuses are established in Australia for overseas students. The Government undoubtedly hopes that it will reduce the current almost total financial reliance of institutions on Canberra. Strong encouragement is also being given to institutions to diversify their research funding away from Canberra and towards industry.

CHART A

THE FEDERAL ROLE, GOVERNANCE AND FINANCE OF EDUCATION

	Policy	Reagan	Fraser	Hawke
1.	Commitment to a strong Federal Role in Education	No (Abolish Fed. Role)	Reduced Fed. Role	Yes
2.	Committed to closure of:			
	Education Department	Yes	No	No
	Other Education Agencies	Yes (NIE)	Yes (CDC, ERDC)	No (Reopened CDC)
3.	Emasculation of Agencies?			
	E.D.	Yes	N/A	N/A
	N.I.E.	Yes	N/A	N/A
	S.C.	N/A	Yes	Yes
4.	Decentralization of Policy and Control away from Washington/ Canberra	Yes	No More central-ization and coordination (eg, CTEC, College mergers)	No New CTEC Act Strengthened D.E.
5.	Deregulation	Yes	No	No . Contradictory Policies . Negotiated Agreements . Principles not Detailed
6.	Cut Fed. Education Expenditure	Yes (ECIA) Substantial Success	Yes Marginal Success	No Modest Growth of 5% p.a.
7.	Promotion of Greater Efficiency and Cost-Effectiveness in Expenditure of Fed. Education Budget	Yes Via Deregulation, Decentralization & Budget Cuts	Yes Thru Regulation & Coordination from Canberra . College Mergers . Centres of Research Excellence . CTEC . Budget Cuts	Yes . CTEC Act . QERC . Efficiency Review

CHART B

THE CONSERVATIVE EDUCATION AGENDA

	Policy	Reagan	Fraser	Hawke
1.	Promote Excellence	. Commission on Excellence . Bully Pulpit . Promotion of Competition	. Centres of Research Excell . More Aid for Private Schools	. Emphasis more on Equity . Concerns about 'Quality of Edn . Pegged Aid to Wealthy Private Schools
2.	Downplay Equity Issues	. Yes, almost off Agenda . IRS to 'lay off' non-compliant Private Schools . Deregulation policy allows Reagan to put onus for Equity issues on States	. Yes, reduce 'needs' categories to three . Resulted in more money for wealthy private schools	. No, Re-emphasise Equity Issues: 1) Schools Funding 2) PEP (Schools & TAFE) 3) Tertiary PEP 4) Affirmative Action & EEO Programs
3.	Freedom of Choice/ Support of Private Schools	. Tuition Tax Credits . Education Vouchers . Fostering competition between public & private schools	. Increased aid to private schools . Explored voucher System . Decreased proportion of Fed. aid going to public schools	. Increased aid to poor private schools . More stringent conditions for establishing new private schools . Restrictions on new funded places in existing private schools
4.	Attacks on Public Education System	. Criticism of standards, discipline, lack of parent control of curriculum and methods	. Criticism of Govt. school standards . Frequent attendance at private school functions . Blamed education system for youth	. Blamed inadequacies of education system for youth unemployment . Universities attacked as 'bastions of privilege' . Attacks on academic salaries and conditions

CHART B (cont'd)

Policy	Reagan	Fraser	Hawke
5. Stress on Economic and Vocational Function of the Education System	. Strong emphasis on economic and productivity concerns . Stress on competition	. Transition from school to work program . Expand vocational Edn provision (TAFE) in preference to University & College . Established major inquiry (Williams) into Education and Training . Criticised mismatch between Educational system output and needs of Business and the Economy . Blamed Educational system for Youth Unemployment	. Strong focus on TAFE expansion and access . Establishment of Youth Training Scheme . Criticised mismatch between Educational system and needs of Business and Economy . Blamed Education system for Youth Unemployment

OUTCOME OF ANALYSIS

How then, might we sum up our analysis of Reagan and Hawke Education policies as reflected in the foregoing discussions and as illustrated in Charts A and B.

Perhaps the first thing to be said is, that unlike the dramatic ideological sea-change of education policies and policy preferences reflected in the US switch from Carter to Reagan (Clark and Astuto, 1986) or the earlier Australian switch from McMahon to Whitlam (Smart, 1978) the switch from conservative Fraser (who had so much in common with Reagan) to socialist Hawke has been a significantly more gradual and less perceptible experience. That is not to say, however, that Hawke's policies have not been different in some vital areas. Thus on some, but by no means all, of the big ideological issues Hawke's socialist Government has "stood up and been counted":

1) Where Reagan and Fraser sought, respectively, to eliminate, and reduce the Federal role, the Hawke Government has sought to uphold a strong Federal presence in education.

2) In the face of a mounting Federal deficit, Fraser and Reagan cut education expenditure, whereas Hawke achieved modest growth; that is to say, where Reagan substituted exhortation for money, Hawke did not.

3) The real 'litmus test', presumably, is Hawke's performance on the 'conservative education agenda'. In this respect, Hawke possibly just survives the crucial 'equity-excellence pendulum test'.

Whereas Fraser and Reagan in a myriad of ways have emphasised excellence as a value in education and down-played equity issues, Hawke has, generally speaking, done exactly the opposite - though 'socialist purists' would point to notable 'faintnesses of heart' with respect to funding for wealthy schools and the tertiary fees 'flip-flop'. Where Fraser and Reagan have pushed freedom of choice and support for private schools, Hawke has emphasised the primary obligation of Government to public schools. Reversing what the left sees as a Fraser-induced Federal 'bias' in funding to private schools will not be achieved overnight but the Hawke Government has begun to address the problem. Whilst Hawke has confirmed a continuation (and even increase) of Federal aid to private schools he has insisted on a more sophisticated differentiation of 'need' and asserted that wealthiest schools will not receive any increase in

assistance. Nevetheless, the failure to end aid to wealthy schools will continue to be a 'sore point' with the left wing of the ALP and with public school parent and teacher organisations. Hawke has also vigorously promoted increased access to and participation in post-compulsory education by youth and by various disadvantaged groups in society. On at least two items of the 'conservative agenda' though, Hawke is in agreement with Fraser and Reagan. Both he and his Minister for Education have berated standards and the quality of education, and he and his Government have in a variety of contexts shown themselves to have a peculiarly economistic and narrow view of education. Thus, Hawke publicly endorses a view of education which emphasises its economic and vocational functions. Such values as productivity and competitiveness in education are given prominence and the broader social and integrative functions of education - not to mention the importance of providing broad general education at tertiary level - tend to be ignored.

Clearly, then, the Hawke socialist Government has distinguished itself from the conservative governments of Fraser and Reagan in certain crucial respects. On the other hand the Hawke Government is not nearly so distinct as we might have predicted, and in some major respects it is almost indistinguishable. For example, it has pursued policies of financial stringency, rationalization, coordination, accountability and efficiency in higher education which are distinguishable from Fraser's only in degree.

The Hawke Government's generally cautious and pragmatic style and policies reflect the dominance of the right wing of the Party in the Cabinet and a commitment to capturing and retaining the centre ground of Australian politics. Much to the chagrin of the left wing of the ALP, Hawke has:

1) continued to provide Federal aid to wealthy private schools despite official ALP policy to phase it out;

2) despite official party policy to the contrary, made several attempts to have Cabinet endorse the reintroduction of tertiary tuition fees;

3) promoted a degree of 'privatisation' of the tertiary sector by encouraging the marketing (at 'cost plus') of courses to foreign students both within and outside Australia;

4) changed Australia's overseas aid approach by increasing substantially the tuition fees for private foreign students studying in Australian universities and colleges.

The Emasculation of the Schools Commission

Perhaps one of the greatest ironies of Hawke Government education policy has been the emasculation during 1985-86 of the Schools Commission - a Commission originally established to promote Labor Government policies of equity in the schools by the Whitlam Government in 1973. Under Fraser, the Schools Commission came increasingly to be viewed by the ALP left as a creature of the private schools. This perception was reinforced by Fraser's appointment as Chairman, of Dr Peter Tannock, an educationist closely identified with the Catholic education sector - and further reinforced when two representatives on the Commission of the public school teachers and parents dissented from the majority recommendations of the Commission in 1984 - largely on the grounds that the funding recommendations were biassed strongly in favour of the private schools sector (Smart, 1986).

Although the ALP Government adopted the rather expensive recommendations of this report (Funding Policies for Australian Schools, 1984) - including the continuation of aid to the wealthy schools - the dissatisfaction of the public schools sector at the seeming inability of the Hawke Government to persuade the Commission to regard as its highest priority its 'primary obligation' to public schools, had not been lost on Hawke. Thus when opportunities arose in 1984-85, Hawke proceeded to emasculate the Commission. Fortuitously for the Government, Tannock resigned and was ultimately replaced by Garth Boomer - a significantly lower profile and less experienced bureaucratic strategist. In the interim, the recommendations of the QERC Report and a Commonwealth Public Service Board review of the Commission led to decisions by Hawke and Ryan to transfer the administrative staff, responsibility and funds for the 'big ticket' Schools Commission programs into the Commonwealth Department of Education. In one fell swoop, the Schools Commission was effectively neutered - albeit under the pretext of enhancing its capacity to concentrate on its primary function of giving policy advice!! Departmental control of the programs and funds will give the Minister a much greater degree of influence and control than when they were in the hands of an independent statutory Commission. Following a review of the Schools Commission's remaining special purpose programs it is conceivable that a number of these will be terminated or phased out and the funds so released also transferred out of the Schools Commission's control.

Conclusions and Predictions

The education policies of the Hawke ALP socialist Government have so far proven to be more akin to those of the conservative Reagan and Fraser Governments than might have been expected. The Hawke Government has essentially conformed to a well-defined international trend away from strong public support for education and welfare spending - a trend clearly manifest in Thatcher's Britain and Reagan's USA (Smart, 1985). The degree of conformity is partly attributable to such factors as: the common constraints imposed in both countries by huge Federal deficits; the generally conservative social, economic and educational climates and contexts within which leaders are operating in the 1980s; the conservative historical lessons imbibed by Hawke from the brief radical reformist Whitlam era; the deliberate Hawke strategies of pursuing a highly consensual and pragmatic approach to policy development which implies eschewing left wing ideology; a willingness by Hawke to ignore Party policy where pragmatism suggests it is prudent and possible to do so. Internationally, the trend away from education and welfare spending has had the effect of removing protection and support for groups disadvantaged by the current distribution of economic resources in relation to access to education and consequent social mobility.

In defence of the Hawke Government, it can be said that certainly education funding has fared better than it did under Fraser and than it has under Reagan and Thatcher. Nevertheless, Hawke failed to halt the downward spiral in the proportion of total Federal Budget devoted to education which commenced under Fraser and, compounded by redistribution, the relative position of public schools and higher education has deteriorated. Again, in defence, it can be argued that, confronted with unprecedentedly high youth unemployment, Hawke was right to tackle that priority first. Furthermore, the PEP initiatives provided a countervailing force promoting educational access for some of the traditionally disadvantaged groups.

Despite these caveats, it seems quite possible that the legacy of the Hawke Government may well be a set of educational policies which are destined, on balance, to increase rather than reduce inequalities in our society. For example, the Commonwealth's total financial contribution to public schools continues to lag that to private schools and in higher education the proportion of students eligible for TEAS continues to decline whilst the competition for increasingly scarce university and college places continues to grow.

Where, Then, Do the Policies of Reagan and Hawke Diverge?

Undoubtedly, the two most striking dimensions on which Reagan and Hawke differ are the predictable ones based on their different ideologies: Reagan's 'Federalism' inclines him towards a minimalist position with regard to the Federal role in education, whereas Hawke's socialist position inclines him towards a strong Federal role; similarly, Reagan's conservative philosophy inclines him to emphasise excellence and freedom of choice whilst exorcising equity issues, whereas Hawke's perspective inclines him to focus on equity issues and downplay excellence.

There is every likelihood that their respective policies will continue to diverge over time. Nevertheless, given the economic, political and other constraints on both men it is highly unlikely that Reagan will achieve his ultimate goals of closing down the Department of Education completely or introducing tuition tax credits - or that Hawke will implement ALP policy of phasing out aid to independent schools. Ironically, in the conservative 80's it is quite possible that Hawke might ultimately preside over the reintroduction of tertiary tuition fees - a policy strongly opposed by his Party Platform.

Perhaps the most striking feature of Hawke education policy is the lack of congruence between ALP Platform and action or implementation. Whitlam implemented Party education policy whereas Hawke has done so to a much more limited degree. It is this preoccupation with economic policy and apparent lack of concern for redistributionist principles which concerns many ALP supporters.

One optimistic sign on the Australian horizon is the spate of recent speeches (since July 1985) by ALP influentials including McLelland, Dawkins, Hayden and Whitlam - all of whom have urged the Hawke Government to ensure that in its current preoccupation with 'sound economic management' it does not lose sight of the ALP's guiding objectives of social reform and redistribution.

So far as the US is concerned, the renewed interest in, and commitment to education flowing from the 'reform movement' provides greater optimism that necessary increases in expenditure will be achieved. However, Reagan's stance makes it certain that such increases, if they are to be sustained, will continue to come from the States and locals - not from the Federal Government.

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TABLE 2.1
Commonwealth General Recurrent Grants for Government Schools in the States and the Northern Territory: 1985-1992

	1985	*1986*	*1987*	*1988*	*1989*	*1990*	*1991*	*1992*
$ per student								
primary	155	161	165	172	181	185	194	202
secondary	171	189	211	235	250	273	286	298

TABLE 2.2

Commonwealth General Recurrent Grants for Non-Government Schools 1985-1992

Category	*1985* $	*1986* $	*1987* $	*1988* $	*1989* $	*1990* $	*1991* $	*1992* $
Primary								
1	277	277	277	277	277	277	277	277
2	370	370	370	370	370	370	370	370
3	378	387	398	414	431	449	455	460
4	559	559	559	559	559	559	559	559
5	565	574	584	603	619	631	640	644
6	571	586	606	631	661	692	704	712
7	576	598	627	666	708	752	772	781
8	768	779	792	811	828	843	848	850
9	771	786	808	834	859	880	890	896
10	774	796	824	857	892	919	935	942
11	777	804	840	881	923	960	980	988
12	781	812	855	906	956	999	1 024	1 034
Secondary								
1	440	440	440	440	440	440	440	440
2	586	586	586	586	586	586	586	586
3	594	602	613	631	649	667	674	678
4	889	889	889	889	889	889	889	889
5	893	898	906	918	930	940	946	950
6	901	917	938	968	1 001	1 032	1 046	1 051
7	909	936	973	1 021	1 070	1 120	1 143	1 154
8	1 211	1 218	1 226	1 234	1 243	1 249	1 253	1 255
9	1 216	1 231	1 251	1 272	1 294	1 312	1 319	1 323
10	1 222	1 246	1 277	1 311	1 345	1 372	1 385	1 390
11	1 227	1 258	1 297	1 344	1 392	1 429	1 450	1 458
12	1 232	1 269	1 319	1 379	1 436	1 482	1 514	1 526

Source: CSC Report for 1986: pp9-10

TABLE 1: SOME KEY AREAS OF AUSTRALIAN FEDERAL BUDGET OUTLAYS 1974-5 TO 1984-5 IN CONSTANT 1979-80 DOLLARS ($b)

OUTLAYS	WHITLAM (ALP)	FRASER (LIBERAL)						HAWKE (ALP)		
	1974-5	1975-6	1977-8	1978-9	1980-1	1982-3	% INCREASE OF 1982-3 ON 1974-5	1983-4	1984-5	% INCREASE OF 1984-5 ON 1974-5
DEFENCE	2.684	2.627	2.794	2.868	3.218	3.496	+ 30.25	3.667	3.723	+ 38.71
EDUCATION	2.731	2.671	2.813	2.773	2.602	2.716	- 0.55	2.783	2.906	+ 6.41
HEALTH	2.108	4.165	3.160	3.181	3.305	2.504	+ 18.79	3.005	3.955	+ 87.62
SOCIAL SECURITY AND WELFARE	6.095	7.096	8.695	8.876	8.994	10.316	+ 69.25	11.198	11.543	+ 89.38
TOTAL BUDGET OUTLAYS	29.261	30.792	31.285	31.789	32.728	35.771	+ 22.25	28.335	40.903	+ 39.79

SOURCE: Budget Papers, H.R. 21 August 1984, p389

TABLE 3

COMMONWEALTH ALLOCATIONS FOR SCHOOLS 1986

1986 National Allocations
Commonwealth Specific Purpose Programs
for Schools
(expressed in estimated December 1984 prices)

	1985 ($'000)	*1986 ($'000)*
GOVERNMENT PROGRAMS		
Primary Basic Learning	5 549	5 549
Participation & Equity	40 698	20 349
Computer Education	5 251	5 251
English as a Second Language		
— General Support	42 458	40 855
— New Arrivals (a)	10 004	10 004
Disadvantaged Schools	30 034	30 034
Special Education		
— Recurrent	18 845	18 072
— Integration	1 419	1 361
Early Special Education	1 668	1 668
NON-GOVERNMENT PROGRAMS		
Primary Basic Learning	1 466	1 466
Participation & Equity	4 768	2 384
Computer Education	1 313	1 313
English as a Second Language		
— General Support	17 958	17 084
— New Arrivals (a)	1 070	1 070
Disadvantaged Schools	5 833	5 833
Special Education		
— Recurrent	4 819	4 621
— Integration	407	390
— Support Services (b)	13 080	12 467
Early Special Education	426	426
JOINT PROGRAMS		
Participation & Equity	1 701	850
Early Special Education	1 780	1 780
Multicultural Education	4 975	4 771
Ethnic Schools (a)	5 037	5 037
Country Areas	10 228	9 809
Children in Residential Institutions	2 289	2 289
Severely Handicapped Children	3 738	3 738
Professional Development	11 301	11 301
Education Centres	2 393	2 393
Projects of National Significance	1 818	1 818
TOTAL	252 246	223 983

1986 National Allocations
Commonwealth General Resource Programs
for Schools
(expressed in estimated December 1984 prices)

	1985 ($'000)	*1986 ($'000)*
GOVERNMENT PROGRAMS		
General Recurrent (a)	354 414	373 740
Capital	165 501	150 890
NON-GOVERNMENT PROGRAMS		
General Recurrent (b)	660 947	671 074
Short Term Emergency Assistance	643	643
Capital (c)	59 727	54 406
TOTAL	1 241 232	1 250 753

(a) As this program operates on a per capita basis, final costs will be subject to actual enrolments each year

(b) Based on latest available year's actual enrolments (1984), final payments are dependent on actual enrolments for 1985 and 1986, the distribution of increased enrolments among the funding categories, the outcome of appeals by schools against their funding categories and the number of new schools to qualify for Commonwealth per capita and establishment grants. based on projected enrolments, total costs are estimated at an additional $13m-$15m in 1985 and $25m-27m in 1986

(c) Includes amount to be transferred from Department of Community Services in 1986. An amount has also been included in 1985 for reasons of comparison

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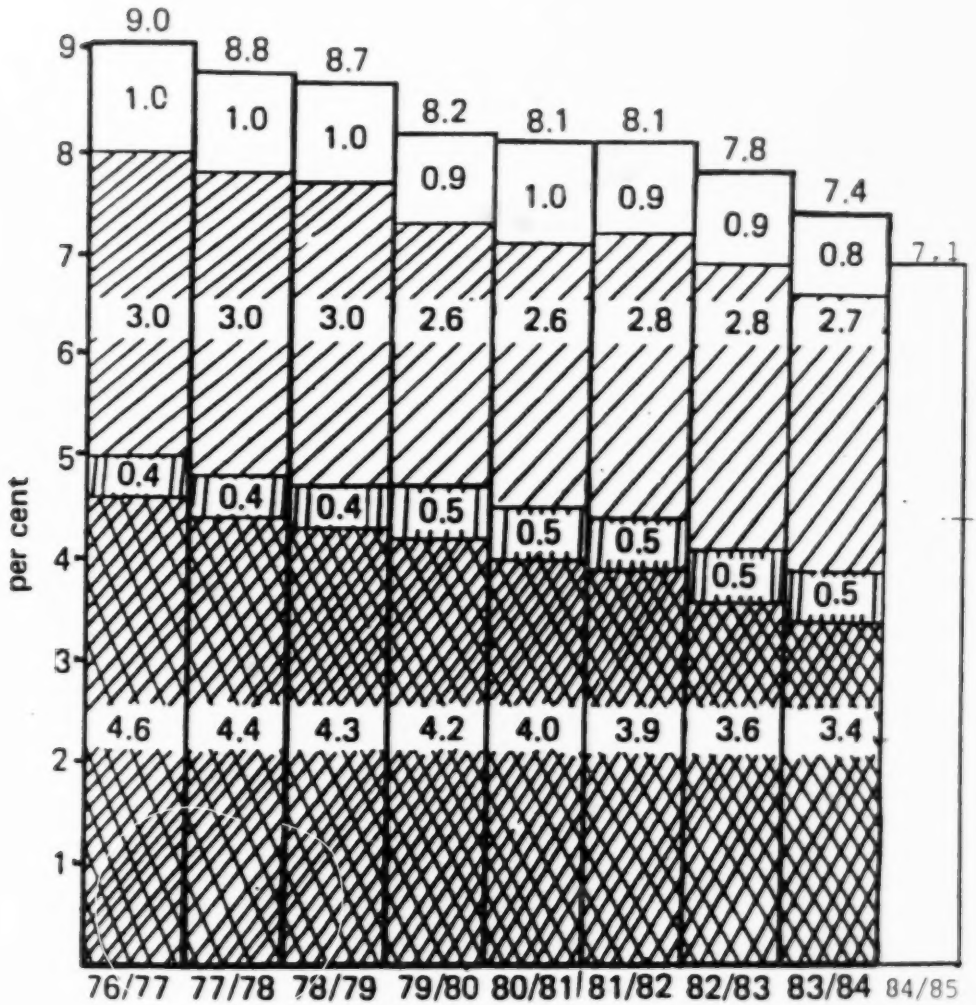
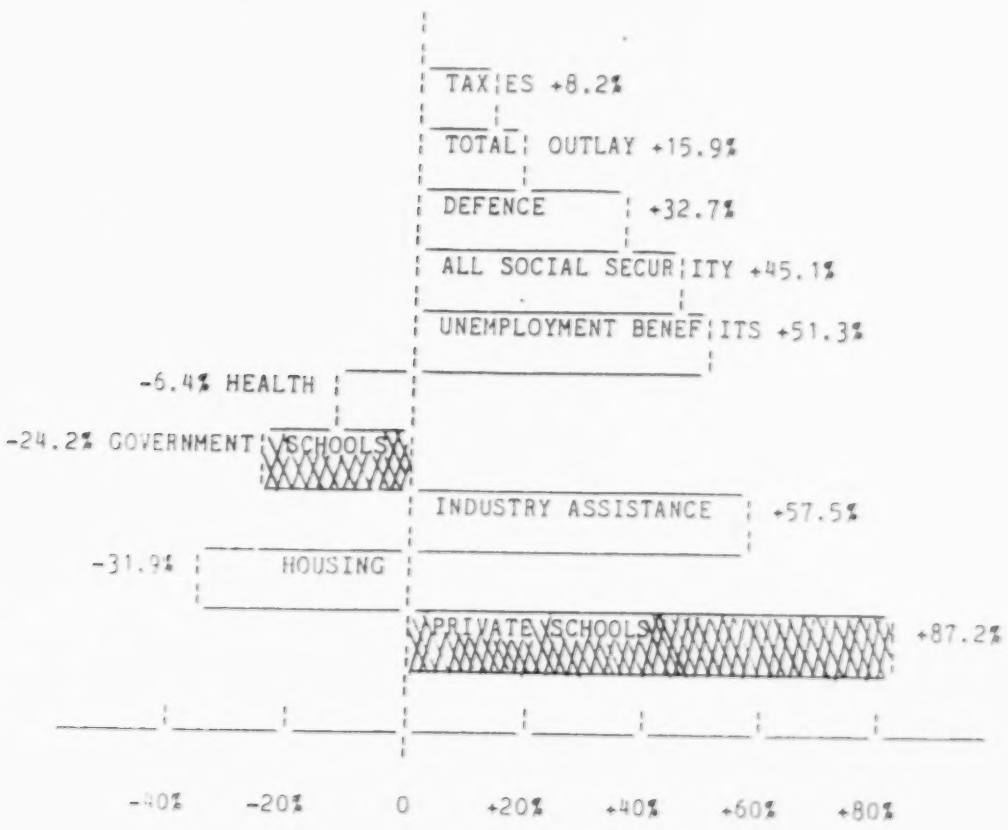
Source: CSC Report for 1986: p57

FIGURE 1:
Commonwealth Expenditure on Education as a Proportion of Total Commonwealth Expenditure. Actual 1976/77 to 1982/83, Estimated 1983/84



Source: Budget Papers No 1 1978 - 79 to 1983 - 84 / Department of Finance

FIGURE 2: CHANGES IN SELECTED COMMONWEALTH BUDGET AGGREGATES BETWEEN 1975-76 and 1982-83 (REAL TERMS)



(Source: Commonwealth of Australia, 1983-84 Budget Paper Number 1, pages 358 to 363).